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Migration around the Black Sea (from the Mid-thirteenth Century to 1700)

Between the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries, Crimea and the coasts and hinterlands of the western Black Sea were an important focal point of migration. The migrations originated predominantly in the northeast (the Volga, the Caucasus, and the adjacent steppe regions of northwestern Eurasia/Central Asia) and southeast (Anatolia, Anatolia via southern Rumelia, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia/Iran via Anatolia). They included people like the Seljuks, Turks/Yörüks, Armenians, Circassians, Jews and Karaites, Mongols/Tatars, and Nogays. Migrations from the north, northwest, and southwest had fewer origins but more durative effects: The Vlach migrations into the lands of the lower Dnister (Dniester) and Danube as well as the Slavic colonization of the former Dasht-i Kipchak from the realms of Poland, Lithuania, and Muscovy.

1 Between the Steppe and the Sea: Cuman Heritage, Seljuk Exiles, and Mongol Relocation Practices

Due to the lasting effect on the ethnogenesis of many littoral people of the Black Sea and its riverine systems, a few words on the Cumans/Kipchaks seem in place. They dominated the western steppes of Eurasia for almost two centuries leaving an impact not only on the Kyivan Rus but also on their later conquerors, the Mongols, whose western branch, adopting the Kipchak language and merging with their speakers, formed the Tatar ethnos. But Cuman traces can also be found further west. Until the Mongol campaign of 1241, the last and westernmost safe haven of the Cuman confederation from Mongol onslaught was the steppe lands between the river Olt, the Danube, and the Carpathians—a stretch of land called Cumania even until the fourteenth century, when it became known by the new names of Wallachia (Oltenia and Muntenia) and Moldavia. At the end of the twelfth century, from the cultural and ethnic symbiosis of Slavs to the south of the lower Danube, Vlachs of the Balkan Mountains, and Cumans to the north of the Danube, emerged the Second Bulgarian Empire, whose ruling houses (Asenids,

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Shishmanids, and Terterids) were of Cumano-Vlach or Cuman extraction.[1] The emergence of the Second Bulgarian Empire and later the crushing of the Cuman rump confederation as well as the settlement of its remnants in Hungary and south of the Danube, allowed for the migration of the Vlachs from the mountains south of the Danube into the depopulated plains of former Cumania. Here several small Vlach dominions (knezates) emerged, which were to become the Principality of Wallachia, originally ruled by the Basarabs, a family of Cumano-Vlach descent, and, with some detour via the Carpathians, the Principality of Moldavia. The Mongol/Golden Horde's presence on the lower Danube reached its peak in the second half of the thirteenth century under Genghisid prince and emir Nogay (d. 1299), who ruled over the most western ulus between the Don and the Danube. A powerful *éminence grise* in the Golden Horde, he also actively intervened in the affairs of the Bulgarian and the Byzantine thrones. From 1286 on, he minted his own coins in Saqçı (Ottoman: İsakça, today: Isaccea) in the Danube Delta, which was to become his residence. After the death of Nogay and his sons around the turn of the century, the cities of the Danube Delta as well as Maurocastro, which was to become Ottoman Akkerman (today Ukrainian Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi), came, by the grace of the Golden Horde, as most researchers agree, under the administration of Bulgarian tsar Theodore Svetoslav for a period of two decades.[2]

Nogay's rule on the Danube and the subsequent Bulgarian administration connect to the problem of the pre-Ottoman Anatolian Turkish colonization of what was later called Dobruja, that is, the coastal lands between the Danube and the eastern Balkan mountains. The sources indicate that prior to the Ottoman conquest this area was inhabited by turcophone Christians. The modern-day Gagauz of Moldavia, a Christian people with an Oghuz Turkic language, whom the Russians had resettled in the 1830s from their old abodes south of the Danube, are generally considered their descendants. The origins of this people are heavily debated. The theories can be grouped into two camps: One sees the Gagauz descendants of Turkic peoples such as the Pechenegs, Cumans, Tatars, etc., who migrated successively from the north and were Christianized by Bulgarians and Byzantines. The other sees them as the descendants of so-called "Tourkopouloi," Anatolian Turks, who came to Byzantium with the Seljuk prince ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs II in the mid-thirteenth century and were eventually settled to defend the Byzantine borders in the later Dobruja.[3] Machiel Kiel's analyses of Ottoman

1 Alexandru Madgearu, *Byzantine Military Organization on the Danube: 10th–12th Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115–66; István Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars: Oriental Military in the Pre-Ottoman Balkans, 1185–1365* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 13–144.

2 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 69–165; Virgil Ciocîltan, *The Mongols and the Black Sea Trade in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 241–79.

3 For a representative of the first position, see Georgi Atanasov, *Dobrudzhansko Despotstvo: Kam politicheskata, tsarkovnata, stopanskata i kulturnata istoriia na Dobrudzha prez XIV vek* (Veliko Tarnovo: Faber, 2009), 401–39, who builds on the work of Strasimir Dimitrov and Petar Mutafchiev. The opposite research tradition was established by Paul Wittek. Cf. Paul Wittek, "Yazîjîoghlu 'Alī on the Christian

tax registers of the region show that a Christian population with ancient Turkic names, rather untypical for the Ottoman Empire, settled in the regions along the coast and the rivers, while the largely deserted plains in the interior were repopulated from Anatolia, where typical Muslim names prevailed. Machiel Kiel therefore assumed that the "original population" of Dobruja was ethnically and linguistically a mixture of Cumans, Pechenegs, and pre-Ottoman Anatolian Turks.[4] This is supported not least by the name for the Dobruja Turks used by Evliya Çelebi in the Seyahatname, which has also been handed down in other sources:[5] "çıtak," which Evliya Çelebi clearly used in the sense of "half-breed" or hybrid.[6] It seems that for Evliya it was not the ethnic or religious affiliation that defined a "çıtak," but certain linguistic and cultural markers, such as their clothing and food, which Evliya would recognize as expressing a closeness to the Tatar world. Thus, for him, all Turkic-speaking inhabitants of Dobruja, whether Christian or Muslim, were Çıtak.[7] An alternative term Evliya used is "Tatarşe/Tatarşa," which derives from either the Persian diminutive "-çe" ("little Tatar") or the Turkic-language equative -ce/-ca or -şe/-şa ("Tatar-like"). For example, Evliya Çelebi wrote about the inhabitants of Silistra:

Turks of the Dobruja," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 14, no. 3 (1952): 639–68. For recent discussions, see Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 72–79; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols*, 241–49.

4 Machiel Kiel, "The Dobrudja: A Bridge and Meeting Point Between the Balkans, Anatolia and the Ukraine. The Ottoman-Turkish Sources for the History and Historical Demography and Settlement History of the Dobrudja and How They Can Be Used," in *Turco-Bulgarica: Studies on the History, Settlement and Historical Demography of Ottoman Bulgaria,* ed. Machiel Kiel (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2013), 147–66.

5 The word "çıtak" for the people of Dobruja was also used in the seventeenth century by the Crimean Armenian chronicler Khachatur Kafaetsi. Edmund Schütz, "Eine armenische Chronik von Kaffa aus der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29, no. 2 (1975): 146.

6 The word is derived from the old Oghuz root "çat": to pair, to breed. Cf. Nişanyan Sözlük, s.v. "çat[mak]."

7 Seyit Ali Kahraman et al., eds., *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, vol. 3, *Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 305 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2006), 114a, 120a, 122a, 125a–25b. Outside Dobruja, Evliya used the term Çıtak mostly in connection with Rumelian Yörüks, for instance for the Yörüks of Thessaloniki ("yörükân ve çıtakân"). The actual Yörüks were Turkmen (Oghuz) nomads. Yet the Yörüks of Thessaloniki were called "yörükan ve tataran" until the sixteenth century (cf. Mehmed Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler: Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* [Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957], 87), since they were originally mixed in composition and included some "Tatars," that is, non-Oghuz Turkic peoples who had come to southeastern Europe or Anatolia in connection with the Mongol invasion, Timur Lenk, or through immigration from the Golden Horde area. Since Evliya Çelebi obviously often used the term Çıtak for dialects of Turkish that had a certain "Tatar" appeal, it can be assumed that the "Tataran" of the sixteenth century had become "Çıtakan" in the seventeenth due to linguistic assimilation to the Oghuz language of the Yörüks. Sometimes, however, Evliya refers to Greek and Bulgarian influences as well; see Kahraman et al., *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* 3:142a–42b; Seyit Ali Kahraman et al., eds, *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi,* vol. 8, *Topkapı Sarayı Kütüphanesi Bağdat 308 Numaralı Yazmanın Transkripsiyonu-Dizini* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2003), 202b, 207b, 212b, 220a, 223b.

> And their warriors ride saddled horses like the Tatars and carry bows. These are the ones who go on raids with the Tatars, they are the Tatarşe people. In another way, they are also called the Dobruja people. It is a çıtak people born from Tatars, Bulgarians, Moldovans, and Wallachians. Initially, they were offspring of the warriors of Orhan's son Süleyman Şah of the House of Osman. Later, when Yıldırım Bayezid Han adorned the city with the Tatars, their mothers were Tatars, Bulgarians, Moldovans, and Wallachians, and a kind of mixed race [*çıtak kavmı*] emerged.[8]

Evliya saw the Çıtak as the descendants of the companions of Süleyman Pasha, son of the second Ottoman ruler Orhan Gazi and pioneer of the Ottoman raids/conquests in Southeastern Europe. He therefore moved the emergence of the Tatarşe/Çıtak to a historical context more familiar and closer to him, but his description can certainly be read as a later reflection of Sultan ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs II's story. Evliya Çelebi was not the only Ottoman chronicler to make such remarks. İbrahim Peçevi proved the existence of a cultural memory about the Cumano-Tatar past of the lower Danube region when he wrote that some of the Tatars settled in Wallachia and Moldavia and were converted to Christianity by the "infidels." In particular, the majority of Moldavians, he wrote, were descendants of these Tatars.[9]

The Bulgarian historian Georgi Atanasov rejects the "out of Anatolia" theory of the Gagauz's Seljuk origin, arguing that Byzantium could not have settled ʿIzz al-Dīn's retinue in Dobruja, as it was under Mongol suzerainty.[10] In fact, Atanasov ignores that ʿIzz al-Dīn's retinue, following the imprisonment of their prince by the Byzantine emperor, must have switched allegiance from the Byzantines to the Mongols—making Dobruja a place of Seljuk settlement under Mongol rule. ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaykāʾūs II had kinship ties in the Golden Horde to thank for his liberation during a large Bulgarian-Mongol raid against Byzantium in 1264. He migrated with his followers to Crimea, where he received the cities of Solkhat (or Eski Qırım) and Sudaq as an apanage—a choice that was not entirely coincidental, since Sudaq had been under Seljuk rule from around 1222 until the Mongol conquest of Crimea in 1239.[11]

The Ottoman chronicler Yazıcıoğlu reported that some of ʿIzz al-Dīn's followers returned to Dobruja after a few years in Crimea, including the semi-legendary Sufi mystic Sarı Saltık (d. 1297/98), whose mausoleum in Babadağı (today: Babadag, Romania) and *zaviye* (small convent) in Keligra (today: Kaliakra) became important places of

8 Kahraman et al., *Evliyâ Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi*, 3:120a.

9 İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire, 1283/1866), 1:473; Mihail Guboglu and Mustafa Mehmet, *Cronici turceşti privind ţările Române: Extrase*, vol. 1, *Sec. XV – mijlocul sec. XVII* (Bucharest: Ed. Acad. Republicii Soc. România, 1966), 492–93.

10 Atanasov, *Dobrudzhansko Despotstvo*, 436.

11 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 72–79; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols*, 241–47; Andrew Charles Spencer Peacock, "The Saljūq Campaign Against the Crimea and the Expansionist Policy of the Early Reign of 'Alā' Al-Dīn Kayqubād," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland* 16, no. 2 (2006): 133–49; Aydın Taneri, "Hüsâmeddin Çoban," *İslâm Ansiklopedisi* (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1998), 18:513. On the architectural heritage of the Seljuks in Crimea, see Nicole Kançal-Ferrari, "Contextualising the Decorum of Golden Horde-Period Mosques in Crimea," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 143 (2018): 191–214.

Sufi worship in subsequent centuries.[12] The remigration to Dobruja probably took place during Nogay's reign in Saqçı in the 1280s and 1290s, from which Babadağı is only about sixty kilometers away. Confirming the connection to Nogay is the oldest extant source on Sarı Saltık, an Arabic hagiography written in 1315, which locates the mystic in Saqçı.[13] This source largely invalidates Atanasov's argument that archaeological investigations in Babadağı have not brought to light any traces of pre-Ottoman Anatolian settlement from the thirteenth century: Apparently the Sufis lived ascetically in the wilderness, on a mountain at some distance from Saqçı, later called Babadağı ("Baba[14] mountain")—so the absence of a Seljuk city at this location is not a valid argument for a general absence of pre-Ottoman Turkish colonists. The extensive conversion of the Anatolian immigrants to Christianity, apart from changes of faith made in Byzantine service, probably took place in the first years of Bulgarian rule in the Danube Delta region. An important condition for this was certainly the reign of the last Tengrist ruler of the Golden Horde, Tokhta Khan, who, although not a Christian himself, was at least sympathetic to Christians. Those of ʿIzz al-Dīn's followers who escaped conversion from the Bulgarians and Byzantines returned to Anatolia in the early fourteenth century.[15] It can be assumed that the worship of Sarı Saltık continued among the Dobruja Turks, who converted to Christianity. In any case, the cult survived the years of Bulgarian rule in the Danube Delta. Three to four decades after his death, a small town already existed at the site of Sarı Saltık's burial place. Ibn Battuta, who traveled through the region in 1332/33, named it Baba Saltık in his travelogue and noted that it was named after an "ecstatic mystic." That the Sarı Saltık cult was preserved by the Christian proto-Gagauz until the mystic's Muslim/Ottoman reappropriation in the fifteenth century might be also assumed by the fact that he appears as a religiously ambiguous figure in most of the preserved written traditions about him.[16]

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12 Wittek, "Yazîǰîoghlu"; Ayşe Kayapınar, "Dobruca Yöresinde XVI. Yüzyılda Gayr-i Sünnî İslam'ın İzleri," *Alevilik-Bektaşilik Araştırmaları Dergisi*, no. 1 (2009): 85–102; Machiel Kiel, "Ottoman Urban Development and the Cult of a Heterodox Sufi Saint: Sarı Saltuk Dede and Towns of İsakçe and Babadağ in the Northern Dobrudja," in *Syncrétismes et hérésies dans l'Orient seldjoukide et ottoman (XIVe–XVIIIe siècle): Actes du Colloque du Collège de France, octobre 2001*, ed. Gilles Veinstein (Paris: Peeters, 2005), 283–98.

13 Kiel, "Ottoman Urban Development," 286–87.

14 *Baba* (father), *dede* (grandfather), *pir* (elder) are Sufi titles.

15 Atanasov, *Dobrudzhansko Despotstvo,* 436–37; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols*, 259–68. On Tokhta's attitude towards Christianity, see Ciocîltan, *The Mongols*, 268, fn. 513, and Thomas Tanase, "A Christian Khan of the Golden Horde? 'Coktoganus' and the Geopolitics of the Golden Horde at the Time of Its Islamisation," *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, no. 143 (2018): 49–64.

16 Stefan Rohdewald, "A Muslim Holy Man to Convert Christians in a Transottoman Setting: Approaches to Sarı Saltuk from the Late Middle Ages to the Present," in *The Changing Landscapes of Cross-Faith Places and Practices*, ed. Manfred Sing, special issue, *Entangled Religions: Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Religious Contact and Transfer* 9 (2019): 57–78; Kiel, "Ottoman Urban Development," 284–85.

As seen in the example of Seljuk colonists, the shifting of populations with the aim of (re)populating cities in their steppe core lands was a typical feature of the early Golden Horde. Its rulers and elites found prestige in the foundation of cities, most of which disappeared again, however, in the period from the late fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, leaving a series of ruinous sites or landmarks called *urochyshcha* or *horodyshcha* in Ukrainian (Polish: *uroczyszcza, grodziszcza*).[17] The Seljuks were not the only group transplanted in such a manner—a prominent group in that respect is the Crimean Armenians. Thus, in the Crimean Armenian cultural memory of the seventeenth century, as reflected in the works of Dawit Krimetsi and Martiros Krimetsi, their ancestors were described as having arrived in Crimea from the Volga, that is, the Golden Horde's capital Sarai, in the fourteenth century, where they had migrated earlier from Transcaucasia.[18] Deportations of artisans of various religious and ethnic backgrounds were a common feature of Mongol warfare and marked inner-Mongol conflict too, such as the Golden Horde raids on Ilkhanate Caucasia.[19] Obviously, once in Crimea, this core community of displaced Armenians attracted more and more Armenian colonists from nearby Asia Minor and Transcaucasia, especially in the turbulent years of Ilkhanid disintegration and after the conquest of Armenian Cilicia by the Mamluks in 1375. First settling predominantly in Solkhat (or Eski Qırım), the administrative center of Mongol Crimea, the focus of settlement later shifted to the Genoese colony of Caffa (today: Feodosiia)—a safe haven with many opportunities for trade. The migration of Armenians to Crimea took on massive proportions, reaching a population of 30,000 in Caffa alone in 1439—Latin sources even began to refer to the Armenian colonies of Crimea and the Azov Sea as Armenia Magna or Armenia Maritima.[20] By analogy, a similar process was also assumed for the early modern Karaite and Rabbanite Jewish communities of Crimea—a core of former Sarai citizens originating from Persia and Transcaucasia whose ranks were filled by migrants from the fading Byzantine Empire.[21] The demographic impact of the Genoese colonies

17 Consider for example Yangı Şehir on the Dnister, mentioned below, or Ordu on the lower Dnipro, founded by Beklerbek Mamai. Mikhailo Elnikov, "Rezydentsiia Bekliarbeka Mamaia i misto Ordu (do 60-richchia doslidzhennia Kuchuhurskoho gorodyshcha)," *Naukovi pratsi istorychnoho fakultetu Zaporizkoho natsionalnoho universytetu* 36 (2013): 28–32.

18 Federico Alpi, "In Magna Armenia: appunti sugli Armeni nella Caffa del XIV secolo," *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome: Moyen Âge* 130, no. 1 (2018): 73–83.

19 Christopher P. Atwood, "Artisans in the Mongol Empire," in *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongolian Empire*, ed. Christopher P. Atwood (New York: Facts On File, 2004). See for example the deportation of many Tabrizian artisans to Sarai on the Volga by Tokhtamysh Khan in 1385, when he probably took them first to Crimea and later into Lithuanian exile, see Dan Shapira, "Crimean Tatar," *Encylopaedia Iranica Online*, 2017, accessed August 23, 2022, http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/crimean-tatar.

20 Alpi, "In Magna Armenia"; Edmund Schütz, "The Stages of the Armenian Settlements in the Crimea," *Transcaucasia* 2 (1978): 116–35.

21 Dan Shapira, "Beginnings of the Karaite Communities of the Crimea Prior to the 16th Century," in *Karaite Judaism: A Guide to Its History and Literary Sources*, ed. Meira Polliack (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 709–28; Golda Akhiezer, "The Intellectual Life and Cultural Milieu of Jewish Communities in Medieval Kaffa and Solkhat," *AJS Review* 43, no. 1 (2019): 1–21.

in Crimea is significant not only from the influx of people, be it Italians, Armenians or others, but also as an outlet of the slave trade infusing large numbers of Tatar and Circassian slaves from the steppe hinterlands of the Black Sea into the major slave markets of the Mediterranean, especially Mamluk Egypt.[22] Yet Circassians (Adyge) displacement was not reduced to slavery. As in the other examples, they were displaced for strategic reasons too. Thus, there are reasons to believe that Emir Nogay settled Circassians in the border zones of his realm for defensive purposes—in Crimea and at the border with Lithuania on the middle Dnipro. There the town of Cherkasy is assumed to have been founded as a Circassian colony by the Mongols.[23]

2 Winds of Change? New Regional Powers in Eastern Europe and the Struggle over the Mongol Legacy

After the violent death of Nogay and the unsuccessful attempt by his son Çaqa to take over his political inheritance, the Tatars began their slow retreat from the area of the lower Danube and the Dnister, which, as already mentioned, first became evident in the fact that the Tatars left the administration of their Danubian territories to the Bulgarians for two decades. Even after reclaiming these territories, they were continuously on the retreat from the expanding East-Central European powers of Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania. In 1345, a Hungarian Szekler army led by András Lackfi defeated the Tatar army of the Genghisid prince/emir Atlamysh. Further clashes followed in the 1350s. In 1362, again, Atlamysh's successors, Demetrius/Timur, Hacıbeg, and Qutluboğa suffered a crushing defeat at the Battle of the "Blue Waters" (Syniukha in Ukraine) against a Lithuanian army. Timur-Demetrius is still traceable in the lower Dnister–Danube region until 1374—his end is probably connected with a Lithuanian campaign against him documented for that year. Hacıbeg and Qutluboğa were probably still active in the region until the turn of the century. In 1388, according to the Ottoman chronicler Neşri, they were invited by the Ottoman grand vizier Çandarlızade Ali Pasha to participate in the ongoing Ottoman campaign against Bulgaria. Finally, the Tatar presence at the Dnister was probably concentrated in the middle and lower Dnister between the present-day towns of Camenca and Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi, as indicated mainly by archaeological findings. The main settlement was apparently the town of Šahr al-Ğadid/Yangı Şehir in the area of present-day Orheiul Vechi, which was abandoned, however, in the late 1360s or early 1370s. Elsewhere in the mentioned area, sporadic Tatar presence can be traced as late as the first years of the fifteenth century. One

22 For a recent study, see Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

23 Oleg Bubenok, *Adygi v Severnom Prichernomore* (Kyiv: Naukova Dumka, 2019), 241.

of the main reasons for the Tatar withdrawal from the region, apart from the expansion of Lithuania, Poland, and Hungary, was the internal succession struggles of the period referred to in Ruthenian sources as the "great confusion" (*velikaia zamiatnia*) after the death of Khan Berdibek in 1359.[24]

This situation enabled the emergence of new semi-autonomous principalities in the area between the Carpathian Arc and the Balkan Mountains. In the early 1360s, Bogdan, the voivode of Maramureș in the north of the Carpathians, defected from the Hungarian king and expulsed the voivode Dragoș from the Vlacho-Hungarian March on the Moldova River that had been founded earlier by Vlach colonists from Maramureș. Bogdan declared himself the first independent voivode of Moldavia. The territory of the later principality included, in addition to the still Tatar-controlled area between the Danube and the Dnister, the territory of the Alans (As/Yas) on the Prut River. In contrast to the Cumans, to whose confederation they originally belonged, some of the Alans had remained on the territory of the later Principality of Moldavia after the Mongol conquest and had served the Mongols/Tatars as auxiliary troops or as mercenaries for Byzantium and Bulgaria.[25] They are very likely identical with the "Brodniks" mentioned in Ruthenian, Hungarian, and papal sources[26]—probably a Slavic loan translation of their Iranian-language proper name, which goes back to their ethnically associated function as ford guards in the Cumanian as well as later in the Tatar context. In that sense they were quite similar to the *derbendci*s ("pass guards") of the Ottoman period—a privileged auxiliary formation often exercised by Vlachs. In Russian and Ukrainian research, there is a tendency to conceive of the *Brodnik*s (or the *Berladnik*s, often equated with them) as a kind of proto-Cossack movement, since the Rurikid exiled prince (*izgoi*) Ivan Rostislavovich from the Halych principality, who was

24 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 88–98, 122–65; Aleksandar Uzelac, "Tatary v dunaisko-dnestrovskom mezhdureche vo vtoroi polovine XIV. v.," *Zolotoordynskoe obozrenie* 7 (2019): 417–33; Ion Chirtoagă, *Din istoriei Moldovei de sud-est până în anii '30 al. sec. al XIX-lea* (Chișinău: Editura Museum, 1999), 62–68; Laurențiu Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders: Medieval Towns in the Romanian Principalities* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 520–21. For the "Great Confusion," cf. Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Stepnye imperii Evrazii: Mongoly i tatary* (Moscow: Kvadriga, 2015), 221–34.

25 Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 93–94, 108–13, 123–24; Chirtoagă, *Din istoriei Moldovei*, 54–68; Ciocîltan, *The Mongols,* 254, 268; Virgil Ciocîltan, "Alanii și începuturile statelor românești," *Revista istorică* 6, no. 11–12 (1995): 945–55.

26 It is interesting to note that the Prut is sometimes called "Alanus fluvius" in medieval sources and "nahr Yasi" in Arabic ones. Ciocîltan, "Alanii și începuturile," 937. It is not unlikely that the "Prutheni" listed in Polish chronicles (Długosz, Boguchwal, Pasek) along with Tatars, Ruthenians, and Cumans are identical with the *Brodnik*s of Russian sources. Ion Țurcanu, *Descrierea Basarabiei: teritoriul dintre Prut și Nistru în evoluție istorică (din primele secole ale mileniului II până la sfîrșitul secolului al XX-lea)* (Chișinău: Cartier, 2011), 285–86. After all, the etymology of the river Prut seems to be related to the Indo-European root for ford. In the sources of the Teutonic Knights of Burzenland, they are called "Prodnici" ("usque ad terminos Prodnicorum"). Oleg Bubenok, *Yasy i brodniki v stepiach Vostochnoi Evropy (VI. – nachalo XIII vv.)* (Kyiv: Loros, 1997), 134; László Pósán, "Das Verhältnis zwischen dem Deutschen Orden und den siebenbürgischen Bischöfen im Burzenland (1211–1225)," *Ordines Militares Colloquia Torunensia Historica* 24 (2019): 64–65.

given the nickname "Berladnik" in the Old Ruthenian chronicles, sought refuge with them in the mid-twelfth century. Together with them and the Cumans, he raided towns and ships on the Danube, made raids into Rus and hired himself out as a mercenary leader. In fact, it is not unlikely that the *Brodnik*s in their military-privileged function attracted adventurers from Rus in the north or Bulgaria in the south and were largely Slavicized before eventually being Vlachicized in the Principality of Moldavia.[27] This might be supported, among other things, by the name of the oldest boyar family documented in the Iași area, the Procelnici. Judging by the Slavic name of their progenitor Stoian Procelnic and also by the location of their land holdings in the Iași area, they may have performed the function of a *daruga* (tax collector/administrator) in the Yas/Alan area during Tatar rule.[28] The fact that the legends about the Moldavian land seizure recorded in Romanian chronicles of the seventeenth century describe the area south of the Moldavian founding colony as populated by Ruthenians under a certain "Iatsko"—Virgil Ciocîltan considers Iatsko an ethnonymically derived personal name ("the Alan")—may also speak in favor of a Slavicization of the Alans.[29] Yet it is also possible that the story of Iatsko reflects a southward migration of Halychian Ruthenian refugees after Polish king Casimir the Great had conquered their principality in 1349 or the rivalry between the Lithuanian prince Iurii Koriatovich and the Moldavians over the largely deserted land in the 1370s.[30] The last historically verified mention of the Alans of the Prut as an independent entity ("gospodstvo iashko") is in connection with their use as mercenaries in the Battle of Velbazhd in 1330, when the Bulgarian army, reinforced by Alan (Yas), Tatar, and Wallachian auxiliaries, suf-

27 Bubenok, *Yasy*, 125–37; Victor Spinei, *The Romanians and the Turkic Nomads North of the Danube Delta from the Tenth to the Mid-Thirteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 131–32, 137–38, 141, 159–61; Grzegorz Skrukwa, *O czarnomorską Ukrainę: Procesy narodotwórcze w regionie nadczarnomorskim do 1921 roku w ukraińskiej perspektywie historycznej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 2016), 175–79; Ioto Valeriev, "Commentary on Several Sources of Information for the Early History of the Vlachs in John Kinnamos and Nicetas Choniates," in *Interethnic Relations in Transylvania: Militaria Medieavalia in Central and South Eastern Europe*, ed. Anca Nițoi and Zeno K. Pinter (Sibiu: Editura Astra Museum, 2015), 49–50; Iaroslav V. Pylypchuk, "Sloviany u Dasht-i Kypchaka," in *Movy i Kultury: Mizh Skhodom i Zakhodom (Pamiati Omeljana Pritsaka)*, ed. Leonid Lvovich Zalizniak et al. (Kyiv: VD Kyievo-Mohylianska Akademiia, 2015), 59–68; Dragos Moldovanu, "Reconstructing an Old Slavic Toponymic Field: The Base * Bĭrl – in Romanian Toponymy and Its Historical Implications," *Zeitschrift für Slawistik* 54, no. 3 (2009): 320–37. On the *derbendci*s, cf. Vjeran Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity (Ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th–18th Centuries)," *OTAM* 34 (2013): 115–61.

28 Elena Gherman, "Un domeniu feudal din ținutul Cârligăturii," *Cercetari Istorice (Serie Noua)* 24–26 (2010); Rădvan, *At Europe's Borders*, 501–6. For the office of daruga/basqaq, see István Vásáry, "The Tatar Factor in the Formation of Muscovy's Political Culture," in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and Their Eurasian Predecessors*, ed. Michal Biran and Reuven Amitai (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 252–70.

29 Ciocîltan, "Alanii."

30 On Koriatovich, see below.

fered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Serbs.[31] Their activity as mercenaries for Serbia, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Byzantium in the first decades of the fourteenth century probably led to the continuous dispersion of the Alan confederation, whose former members settled on the territory of the rulers who had hired them. In the end, it must have been easy for the Moldavians to take over the remnants of the confederation on the Prut.[32]

The incorporation of the originally Tatar-administered territories at the Dnister into the Principality of Moldavia is connected with the already mentioned Lithuanian prince Iurii Koriatovich, who dealt the final blow to the rule of the local Tatar prince Timur-Demetrius with a campaign in 1374.[33] There are indications that this might have happened with the permission of the beklerbek of the Golden Horde, Mamai. Such a "friendly" turn of events would explain the continuity of Tatar archaeological remains at the Dnister until the beginning of the fifteenth century, as well as Neşri's reference to the Tatar leaders Qutluboğa and Hacıbeg's presence after 1374.[34] In absence of an agnate heir to the Moldavian throne, the Lithuanian victory over Timur-Demetrius probably prompted some of the Moldavian boyars to choose Iurii Koriatovich as their prince, adding the Tatar territories he had acquired to the Moldavian dominion. Yet Iurii Koriatovich's reign did not last long. Between 1375 and 1377 he was assassinated by his Moldavian subjects and succeeded by a cognate line of the founding dynasty.[35]

31 Ciocîltan, "Alanii," 939; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 110–13.

32 Ciocîltan, "Alanii," 937–38; Vásáry, *Cumans and Tatars*, 93–128.

33 Uzelac, "Tatary," 421.

34 Anatol P. Gorodenco, "Moldova de sud în a doua jumătate a secolului XIV," *Tyragetia* 17 (2008): 83–88. Although this scenario is controversial in Russian and Ukrainian historiography, the thesis that Mamai formed an alliance with the Lithuanians earlier than generally assumed cannot be dismissed. In fact, at the same time as the Battle of the Blue Waters in 1362, Mamai was waging a war against the eastern wing of the Golden Horde. If the three Tatar leaders defeated at the Blue Waters were loyal supporters of the eastern wing in the west, it would have been in Mamai's interest to eliminate them. In this scenario, Mamai would have officially granted the Gediminid prince Iurii Koriatovich Podolia in 1362—in exchange for Lithuanian military assistance. A similar course of events might be assumed for the domain of Demetrius-Timur in 1374. The main proponent of this position was the Ukrainian historian Feliks Shabuldo. For a summary of his arguments, see the posthumously published essay aimed against his critics, Feliks M. Shabuldo, "K itogam izucheniia sinevodskoi problemy," *Istoriia i Sovremennost* 17 (2013): 69–89. For an opponent, see Roman Iulianovich Pochekaev, *Mamai: Istoriia "antigeroia" v istorii* (St. Peterburg: Evraziia, 2010). One of the arguments in favor of the Tatars granting the Lithuanians Podolia after the Battle of Blue Waters is the fact that the Lithuanians paid tribute for its possession until the fifteenth century. Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania: International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 5.

35 Dennis Deletant, "Moldavia Between Hungary and Poland, 1347–1412," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 64 (1986), 197–201; Lia Bătrâna and Adrian Bătrâna, *Biserica "Sfântul Nicolae" din Rădauți: Cercetări arheologice și interpretări asupra începuturilor Țării Moldovei* (Piatra Neamț: Constantin Matasă, 2012), 200–4, 208, 253–80.

The area south of the Danube Delta also entered a phase of increased independence with the retreat of the Tatars. In the mid-fourteenth century, the Bulgarian *hora* (province) of Karvuna, named after its main town, seceded from the Bulgarian tsardom under the brothers Balik, Dobrotitsa, and Todor, who came from a Cuman family. After the death of Balik, his brother Dobrotitsa subordinated himself to Byzantium and was elevated to the rank of despot, and as such became the namesake of the Dobruja region. After the reign of Dobrotitsa's son Ivanko, Dobruja finally fell to the Ottomans at the end of the fourteenth century.[36]

3 Living under the Shade of the Phoenix: Migration under Ottoman Hegemony (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)

Dobruja and the adjacent areas were already the terminus of nomadic immigration immediately after the Ottoman conquest, both from Anatolia and from the northern steppes. Evliya Çelebi reported in the seventeenth century that Sultan Bayezid I had settled Tatars and nomadic Turks (Yörüks) from Anatolia there immediately after the conquest. These Tatars were probably the followers of Taş-Temur and Aqtau, two Tatar leaders who fled to the Danube via Moldavia and Wallachia after the defeat of Tokhtamysh Khan in the battle against Timur Lenk on the Terek River in 1396. They subordinated themselves to Sultan Bayezid and conquered Varna for him in 1399, thus finally dissolving the despotate of Karvuna or Kaliakra. Bayezid settled Aqtau's Tatars in Thrace, in the regions of Edirne and Plovdiv, where from the middle of the fifteenth century they appear in the tax registers organized in *zeamets* (prebends of 20,000 to 100,000 *akçe* annually) consisting of *ocaks*[37] ("hearths/fireplaces").[38]

Tatar was a blanket term often applied to any people that arrived to Eastern Europe and the Middle East with the Mongols or Timur Lenk. Thus, another source of Tatars in the Dobruja and Thrace was Anatolia itself, which had long been under Ilkhanid suzerainty and was not populated exclusively by Turkmens. For example, the rulers of the Beylik of Eretna, which encompassed large parts of eastern Anatolia and whose capital was Sivas, were referred to as "Scythians" by the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos in 1391, while he commonly referred to the Turkic population of Asia Minor

36 Atanasov, *Dobrudzhansko Despotstvo*; Anca Popescu, "The Region of Dobrudja Under Ottoman Rule," *Encyclopaedia of the Hellenic World, Black Sea*, 2008, accessed January 10, 2022, http://blacksea.ehw.gr/forms/fLemma.aspx?lemmaId=12392.

37 On these formations, see Harun Yeni, "The Utilization of Mobile Groups in the Ottoman: A Revision of General Perception," *Oriental Archive* 81 (2013): 183–205.

38 Mehmed Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler, Tatarlar ve Evlâd-ı Fâtihân* (Istanbul: Osman Yalçın Matbaası, 1957), 15–29, 87; Uzelac, "Tatary," 424–26.

as Persians.[39] It can be assumed that the so-called Tatars, who were shipped to Dobruja from the port cities of Sinop and Samsun after the Ottoman conquest of the Beylik of İsfendiyar in 1461, were inhabitants of the Beylik of Eretna, which ceased to exist at the end of the fourteenth century, as well as "Tatars" newly immigrated to Anatolia during Timur Lenk's invasion. The Tatars thus deported were organized in the *zeamet* of the Yanbolu Tatars.[40]

Similar to the strategic deportations of the Mongols, their Ottoman equivalent, called *sürgün* (from *sürmek*, to drive cattle), served economic and military-strategic needs. For example, after the conquests of Kilia and Cetatea Albă (Ottoman: Akkerman) in 1484, the Ottomans deported parts or all of its originally Christian urban population and replaced them with deportees from within their dominions. For example, the inhabitants of Cetatea Albă were settled in Biga, and the fishermen of Silistra were deported to Kilia.[41]

Most prominently, however, the *sürgün* affected the Yörüks, Turkmen nomads, who were transplanted to Rumelia and organized there in *zeamet*s/*ocak*s as *eşküncü*s (light auxiliary cavalry). In addition to six *yörük-zeamet*s, four distinct Tatar *zeamet*s existed until the end of the sixteenth century, before they were absorbed into the *yörük-zeamet*s. The geographical focus of these formations was south of the Balkan Mountains, in Thrace and Macedonia. North of the Balkan Mountains, the density and size of the *ocak*s was lower and concentrated in Dobruja, Deliorman (Bulgarian: Ludogorie), and the southern bank of the Danube between Niğbolu (Bulgarian: Nikopol) and Silistra. In 1584, only sixteen *ocak*s were registered north of the Danube Delta, in Akkerman, Bender, and Kilia.[42]

According to İbrahim Peçevi, another group of Tatars, which subordinated itself to Sultan Bayezid, was settled in villages around Babadağı. Each village had to provide a hundred men as auxiliary troops to forage and care for the horses of the beys of Silistra—the nucleus of the *cebelü* Tatars.[43] In the sixteenth century, there were approximately three dozen officially registered *cebelü* Tatar villages in the qadi districts of Hırsova/Babadağı and Tekfurgölü. For their service, the *cebelü* Tatars were exempted from all taxes, except in years without campaigns or in the event that they wished to

39 Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The Story of the Ottoman Empire 1300–1923* (London: Murray, 2005), 26. See also Cemal Kafadar, *Between Two Worlds: The Construction of the Ottoman State* (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2006), 28, 85, 127–28; Baki Tezcan, "The Memory of the Mongols in Early Ottoman Historiography," in *Writing History at the Ottoman Court: Editing the Past, Fashioning the Future*, ed. Emine Fetvaci and Hakkı Erdem Çıpa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2013), 23–38.
40 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, 16–17, 25.
41 Nicoară Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Déportation et pêche à Kilia entre 1484 et 1508," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 38, no. 1 (1975): 40–54; Liviu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom During the 15th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2018).
42 Gökbilgin, *Rumeli'de Yürükler*, 1–99, see esp. 86–99 and the map in the end.
43 İbrahim Peçevi, *Tarih-i Peçevi*, 1:473; Guboglu and Mehmet, *Cronici turceşti privind ţările Române. Extrase*, 492–93.

free themselves from serving in an individual campaign. In such cases, they had to pay recompense (*cebelü bedeli*). Probably originally formed from *eşküncü ocak*s during the reign of Mehmed II, it seems that their introduction was an attempt to entice nomadic *ocak*s to settle in order to revive agriculture in the region, which had been devastated by plague and wars.[44]

Another driving force of migration and colonization in the early Ottoman period was Sufi orders and dervishes. A major order active in the eastern Balkans and the western Black Sea was formed by the Abdals of Rum. The establishment of the Rum Abdals, like the fifteenth century renaissance of the Sarı Saltık cult, was strongly linked to demographic developments within the Ottoman Empire. In 1461/62, a campaign by Vlad III Drăculea, called the Impaler (Romanian: Țepeș; Turkish: kazıklı voyvoda), devastated and depopulated northern Dobruja to such an extent that the towns of the region either ceased to exist or were reduced to villages. During his campaign to conquer Kilia and Akkerman in the 1480s, Sultan Bayezid II, called "Veli" (God-friend) because of his pro-Sufi stance, had Sarı Saltık's ruined tomb shown to him and a new mausoleum with a mosque complex built on the site. He thus laid the ground for the refoundation of Babadağı, which now took on a distinctly Islamic character through repopulation and whose revenues Sultan Bayezid donated to the preservation of the Sarı Saltık complex.[45] At the same time, the Rum Abdals gained a foothold in the region, founding numerous settlements and convents (*tekkes*) in Thrace, Dobruja, and Deliorman.[46] In the vitae of one of their leaders, Demir Baba, it is described how he liberated Budjak (Ukrainian: Budzhak, Turkish: Bucak, Romanian: Bugeac) or the plain of Özi (the Ottoman name of the Dnipro and the fortress of Ochakiv) together with Moscow from dragons. The victory over the dragon enables the Muslims to settle in Budjak/Özi and can undoubtedly be read as a founding allegory in the context of the pioneering function of Sufi convents in the Ottoman inland colonization.[47] According to his vita, Demir Baba

44 Enver M. Şerifgil, "Rumeli'de Eşkinci Yürükler," *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* 12 (1981), 74–77. As late as 1526, a decree referred to them as *eşküncü* Tatars, who were obliged to muster *cebelü*s. Şerifgil assumed the beginnings of the *cebelü* Tatars during the reign of Sultan Selim I. However, Veinstein and Berindei were able to find a hint in TT 370 that they went back to the time of Mehmed II. Mihnea Berindei and Gilles Veinstein, *L'Empire ottoman et les Pays roumains, 1544–1545. Étude et documents* (Paris: Editions de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1987), 317. On the impact of plague, see Berindei and Veinstein. On the depopulation caused by Vlad III Drăculea, see Kiel, "Ottoman Urban Development," 289.

45 Kiel, "Ottoman Urban Development."

46 Nikolay Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West": The Balkan Frontier in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 115–48, 205–81.

47 Surprisingly, this level of meaning is not addressed in Sara Kuehn's extensive work on dragons in Islam and Christianity. While she does address the allegorical role of the dragon in the Sufi "spiritual" path and its bridging function in the appropriation of Christian holy sites, the function as a founding and colonizing narrative or as an allegory of overcoming anti-human nature is missing, cf. Sara Kuehn, *The Dragon in Medieval East Christian and Islamic Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2011). This function has been described, for example, by Jacques Le Goff and later Peregrine Horden in the context of Western European Christian saintly vitae. Jacques LeGoff, "Culture ecclésiastique et culture folklorique au Moyen

came to the Budjak at the request of the Genghisid prince of Özi—in fact, Özi/Ochakiv (Tatar: Aqçaqum) was the residence of the heir to the throne (Qalğa) in the still young Crimean Khanate in the early sixteenth century. After Demir Baba killed the dragon "for Islam" and not for the prince, as the vita emphasizes, he moved on to Moscow and defeated a dragon there too. In return, he received 40,000 Muslim prisoners from Moscow's "infidel" ruler, whom he settled in the plains of Özi.[48] Actual events might be reflected in this narrative: After Mehmed I Giray became Khan in 1515, his brother Ahmet Giray, now residing in Özi as Qalğa, found himself in opposition and negotiated with Grand Prince Vasilii III for his defection under Moscow's suzerainty. Before he could do this, however, he was defeated and slain by Mehmed's sons in the winter of 1518/19. Ahmed's son Hemmet retreated to the Ottoman Empire. Together with his uncle Saadet Giray he sought refuge in Akkerman and Dobruja, from where, as Muscovite sources reported, they moved on to Edirne with 20,000 men. After two years in Ottoman exile, following the assassination of Mehmed Giray by the Nogays, Saadet Giray returned to Crimea as the new khan.[49] It is not unlikely that Demir Baba stayed at Ahmet Giray's court in Özi between 1515 and 1518 and played a role in the transfer of the two princes and their subordinates. Possibly, Tatars from the entourage of the two princes settled in villages of the Abdals. Finally, the dragon-slaying story also refers to Sarı Saltık, who was revered by the Rum Abdals, and Saint George or his Islamic counterpart, Hızır, who is revered especially in the Sufi context.[50] Ottoman tax registers of the late sixteenth century mention the "Valley of Şeyh Hızır" in the immediate vicinity

Âge: Saint Marcel de Paris et le Dragon," in *Pour un autre Moyen Âge: Temps, travail et culture en Occident. 18 essais.*, ed. Jacques LeGoff (Paris: Gallimard, 1978), 236–79; Dragon- or snake-slaying was also an important element of urban founding legends in Roman and Greek antiquity, and not least this notion is reflected in the belief passed down from late Byzantine and Ottoman times that the serpent column in the hippodrome of Constantinople was a talisman that protected the city from the fate of being overrun by snakes. Paul Stephenson, *The Serpent Column: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 98–126, 184–240. Both the founding of Kazan and Astrakhan were associated in sixteenth and seventeenth century sources with the slaying of dragons/snakes on the territory of the later city. Devin DeWeese, *Islamization and Native Religion in the Golden Horde: Baba Tükles and Conversion to Islam in Historical and Epic Tradition* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 473; Jaroslav Z. Pelenskyj, *Russia and Kazan: Conquest and Imperial Ideology (1438–1560s)* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1974), 119–21.

48 Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West"*, 232–33; Vladimir Evgenevich Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Gerai i ego vassaly," *Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Ordena gosudarstvennogo universiteta im. M.W. Lomonosova: Istoriia* 2 (1940): 7, 28.

49 Bulat Rakhimzianov, *Moskva i Tatarskii mir: Sotrudnichestvo i protivostoianie v epokhu peremen, XV–XVI vv.* (St. Peterburg: Evraziia, 2016), 77–82; Syroechkovskii, "Mukhammed-Gerai," 56–58.

50 Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West"*, 73, 75–76, 97–98, 230, 232, 249, 264; Kuehn, *The Dragon*, 228–35; Oya Pancaroğlu, "The Itinerant Dragon-Slayer: Forging Paths of Image and Identity in Medieval Anatolia," *Gesta* 43, no. 2 (2004): 151–64.

of Akkerman.[51] The villages located here were of mixed population; about half of the heads of households listed by name had the added ethnonym Tatar, and the rest were accordingly settlers from the south.[52] Other villages in Budjak named after their founders also refer to Sufis or dervishes, most likely Abdals, given the frequently occurring epithet "Halife" and "Divane." In Akkerman itself, there was a *tekke* (Sufi convent) named Baba Şahi.[53]

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was another large forced resettlement (*sürgün*) of Anatolian Turkmens to Rumelia, which was connected to several pro-Safavid uprisings in Anatolia. The Safavids recruited their supporters primarily among the nomadic Turkmen of eastern Anatolia and Azerbaijan, who wore red caps with twelve folds as a sign of their allegiance and were therefore called *Qızılbaş* (red heads). For this reason, the Ottomans sought to resettle potential or actual supporters of the Safavids from the Ottoman-Persian borderlands to the European provinces located at the other end of the empire. The arrival of these new settlers provoked a secondary wave of migration of the Yörüks from Thrace to the less densely populated areas of Dobruja and Deliorman and further north to the Budjak.[54] The Anatolian immigrants encountered a local population in Dobruja and Deliorman that was already, if not Shiite-Alevite, at least characterized by a subversive dervish attitude with a certain propinquity to the latter. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Safavid Shah ʿAbbās, counting on the support of this population, even planned to capture an Ottoman Black Sea port in order to embark from there to Dobruja in an attempt to open a second front against the Ottomans.[55]

Emigration from Anatolia was of course not only limited to *sürgün*; the Ottoman conquest of Caffa in 1475 paved the way for Anatolian colonists to settle the southern shores of Crimea. During the years of the so-called "Great Flight" of 1603–6 many peasants left the Anatolian provinces plagued by the Celalis rebellions and crop failures. Some of them established new homes in the Ottoman province of Caffa.[56]

A major demographic development in the history of the Black Sea steppes was the downfall of the eastern Jochid realms situated on the Volga: First, the Golden Horde's

51 Feridun Emecen, "The Wild Frontiers of the Ottomans: Akkirman-Bender-Özü Region According to Archival Documents from the 16th Century," *Journal of Turkish Studies/Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları* 44 (2015): 226.

52 Alper Başer, "Bucak Tatarları (1550–1700)" (PhD diss., Afyon Kocatepe Üniversitesi, 2010), 30–31.

53 Kayapınar, "Dobruca Yöresinde," 90, 96. Cf. the villages of Divane Kara and Divane Mustafa in the 1574 tax register, Mustafa Işık, "701 Nolu Tapu Tahrir Defterine Göre Akkirman Sancağı" (Master thesis, Sakarya Üniversitesi, 2008).

54 Antov, *The Ottoman "Wild West"*, 115–27. On the headgear, see Willem M. Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry in Historical Perspective, 1500–1925* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1999), 277–89.

55 Nicolae Iorga, *Studii și documente cu privire la istoria Romînilor*, vol. 4, *Legăturile principatelor romîne cu Ardealul de la 1601 la 1699. Povestire și izvoare* (Bucharest: Editura Ministerului de Instrucţie, 1902), doc. no. 13, p. 147.

56 Oktay Özel, *The Collapse of Rural Order in Ottoman Anatolia: Amasya 1576–1643* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 140.

nominal successor, the Great Horde, in 1502, and then the khanates of Kazan in 1552 and of Astrakhan in 1554/56. The westward migrations beginning or accelerating with these events are closely associated with the Nogays and the noble Manghıt family. The Nogay Horde, originally based around the Ural River, was a mid-fifteenth century offshoot of the Manghıt ulus/patrimony within the Golden Horde. A product of Manghıt internecine strife after the death of its prominent patriarch, the Golden Horde's Beklerbek Edigü, the Nogay Horde was ruled by the descendants of Edigü's son Nureddin. Other lines, but especially that of Edigü's son Mansur, took hold of the office of the beklerbek and remained in charge of the Golden/Great Horde for most of the time until its defeat by the Crimean khan Mengli Giray. Submitting to the Crimean khans, the descendants of Mansur formed the Manghıt ulus of the Crimean Khanate. The Mansurids, bringing with them their subject people, settled in the northwestern steppe lands of the Crimea and the steppes between the Dnister and Kuban rivers.[57] They swelled the ranks of those Tatar newcomers that had already started to trickle into the once Tatar lands beyond the Dnister after the Ottomans had reopened them to Muslim colonization by taking Cetatea Albă and its coastlands from the Moldavians in 1484. Contemporary sources called these "pioneers" "Cossacks of Akkerman."[58]

4 The Rise of the Double-Headed Eagle: Muscovite Expansion and its Impact on Migration in the Black Sea (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

While the Nogay Horde remained a major military threat to the Crimean Khanate throughout the sixteenth century, in contrast to their Crimean cousins the Manghıts of the Volga suffered constant internal and external pressure from Muscovite expansion and internecine strife.[59] Around 1550, there occurred a first major rupture within the Nogay Horde: the ulus of Gazi, splitting off from the Nogay Horde, established itself under Crimean rule in the pre-Caucasian steppe.[60] This was only the start of a decade of turmoil in the Volga lands: The conquest of Kazan and Astrakhan, a bloody throne

57 The most authoritative study on the Manghıts/Nogays is Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogaiskoi ordy* (Kazan: Kazanskaia nedvizhimost, 2016). Another important study including the Manghıts in a general overview of early modern Crimean history is Oleksa Gaivoronskii, *Poveliteli dvukh materikov*, vol. 1, *Krymskie khany XV–XVI stoletii i borba za nasledstvo Velikoi ordy* (Kyiv: Maistiernia Knyhy, 2010).

58 Cf. the section "Pirates and Bandits (after 1475)" in this volume.

59 Michael Khodarkovsky called the Muscovite strategy vis-à-vis the Nogays a "debilitation policy." Michael Khodarkovsky, *Russia's Steppe Frontier: The Making of a Colonial Empire, 1500–1800* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 124.

60 On the ulus of Gazi/the Lesser Nogays, see Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogaiskoi ordy*, 384–421.

conflict within the Nogay horde and a terrible drought forced many steppe herders to seek a living under Crimean and Ottoman protection. The crisis even revived old steppe habits, such as selling one's children as slaves, which the Ottomans vigorously tried to curb, for they were Muslims.[61]

Other waves of Nogay migrants followed. In 1633, after another period of internal conflict, the Great Nogay Horde was finally dispersed by an attack by the Kalmyks.[62] Two Manghıt clans, the Dinmambetoğlu and the Ormambetoğlu, crossed the Volga seeking refuge in Crimean lands. The Qalğa Hüsam Giray settled the Dinmambetoğlu in the steppes abandoned by the Lesser Nogay near Perekop and the so-called "Milky Waters." Since seven leading mirzas, that is, noblemen, of the Ormambetoğlu were dissatisfied with the conditions, Hüsam Giray promptly crushed the Ormambetoğlu. He had the mirzas imprisoned in Çufut Qale and their uluses forcibly disbanded: Five men at a time were distributed among various villages in the Crimea, and the rest of the Ormambetoğlu joined the Dinmambetoğlu or offered allegiance to Crimean Tatar nobles.[63] The Nogay messenger Maral, who was sent to Astrakhan by Dinmambetoğlu Can Muhammed, reported in July 1635 how the Crimean Tatars dealt with the Nogay refugees: The hostages the Nogays gave to the Crimean Tatars were held in cells, their "wives and daughters they took to their beds, horses, cows, and sheep they slaughtered and they took from them the best people, armor, and any weapons [they had]. They committed such acts of violence and dishonor as they had never before experienced."[64] While the descriptions of these atrocities are surely dramatized in order to convince the voivode of Astrakhan to reaccept the Dinmambetoğlu as subjects, they were nevertheless probably not far from the truth. The two last Nogay migrations into the Dnistro-Danubian dominions of the Ottomans were the Ormambetoğlu, or what was left of them, and the Oraqoğlu in the 1660s as well as, finally, in the 1730s the so-called Yedisan Nogays, who settled between the rivers Dnister and Boh.[65] In 1666, the Ottomans created an official pale of settlement for the Nogays on the Ialpuh River in the barely populated inlands of the Budjak. As a prerequisite to settle there,

61 Trepavlov, 243–79; Gilles Veinstein, "La grande Sécheresse de 1560 au nord de la mer Noire: Perception et réactions des autorités ottomanes," in *Natural Disasters in the Ottoman Empire: A Symposium Held in Rethymnon 10–12 January 1997*, ed. Elizabeth A. Zachariadou (Rethymno: Crete University Press, 1999), 273–81; Mária Ivanics, "Hungersnot in der Steppe," in *"Die Wunder der Schöpfung": Mensch und Natur in der türksprachigen Welt*, ed. Brigitte Heuer, Barbara Kellner-Heinkele, and Claus Schönig (Würzburg: Ergon, 2012), 251–57.

62 Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogaiskoi ordy*, 370–73; Aleksei Andreevich Novoselskii, *Borba Moskovskoga gosudarstva s Tatarami v XVII v.* (Moscow: Izdatelstvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1948), 245–46.

63 Novoselskii, *Borba*, 240–41.

64 Trepavlov, *Istoriia Nogaiskoi ordy*, 376.

65 Chirtoagă, *Din istoriei Moldovei*, 114. For a detailed study on the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Nogay migrations to Ottoman territories, see Başer, "Bucak Tatarları (1550–1700)."

they had to denounce pre-Islamic legal traditions and were implicitly expected to start a settled life as peasants.[66]

Yet the Nogays were not the only group seeking refuge in the realms of the Crimean khans. Russian state-building in Ukraine and in the southern Russian steppes provoked resistance among the Cossacks. Thus as early as the 1680s, some Cossacks of the Don Host, being Old Believers, shifted their allegiance to the Crimean khan and settled in the Khanate's territories on the Kuban. Following the Bulavin rebellion in 1707–8, they were joined by another wave of Don Cossack dissidents, called Nekrasovites, after their leader Ignat Nekrasov. Similar developments can be observed for the Zaporizhian Cossacks—following hetman Ivan Mazepa into secession from Russia and entering Swedish allegiance, they submitted to the khan after the death of Mazepa and the Swedish defeat in 1711. While the Zaporizhian headquarters remained on the lower Dnipro, married Cossacks and their families began to settle not only in the lower Dnipro region but also in the cities of Crimea and in the Kuban region. Many of them remained there even after the Sich was moved back under Russian suzerainty twenty-three years later, in 1734. But even after that, the Crimea remained a reservoir for Cossack dissidents fleeing the Russian authorities. Subsequently, in the memory culture of Cossack dissidents, Crimea was romanticized as a haven of Cossack freedom and traditional lifestyle. The 1770s, especially after the treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, brought an end to this phase as Russia was closing in to subordinate the khanate. First the Nekrasovites, feeling unsecure from Russian encroachments, left for the Ottoman Empire, where they settled on the lower Danube. They were followed closely by dissident Zaporizhian Cossacks who after the abolishment of the Hetmanate state entered Ottoman service, founding the Danubian Sich. To this day, the Danube Delta is home to the Lipovani people, descendants of Cossack Old Believers.[67]

What drew so many different people to the shores of the Black Sea? There is of course no simple answer to this question. In the case of the northern Black Sea, a major factor was that it was a nexus or hub between the Ponto-Mediterranean and the "sea" of the steppes. Nested between these two "seas," it profited from connecting politically, culturally, and economically very different regions over vast distances. Thus, it appealed to those interested in long-distance trade, such as Armenians and Genoese/Venetians. But far from being only an economic watershed providing the opportunity for trade, most of the time the northern Black Sea was also a fringe of empires. As such it attracted people seeking refuge from persecution and the restrictions of state-building, as was primarily the case with the Cossacks and Nogays. Here opportunities for cross-border banditry have to be taken into account too. Religious persecu-

66 Başer, "Bucak Tatarları (1550–1700)," 150, 185–88. Cf. Gemil Tahsin, ed., *Relaţiile ţărilor române cu Poarta otomană în documente turceşti* (Bucharest: Direcţia Generală a Arhivelor Statului din Republica Socialistă România, 1984), doc. no. 142, p. 322.

67 Vladyslav Volodymyrovich Hrybovskyi and Vadim Vintserovich Trepavlov, eds., *Kazachestvo v tiurkskom i slavianskom mirakh: Kollektivnaia monografiia* (Kazan: Institut arkheologii im. A. Kh. Khalikova AN Respubliki Tatarstan, 2018), 489–547. Cf. the section "Pirates and Bandits after 1475" in this volume.

tion or antinomianism were another driving force, as seen in the Nekrasovites and the colonizing Abdal dervishes. Yet migrants were not always pulled. Sometimes they were pushed too: They were transplanted from one place to the other in order to serve a ruler's economic or defensive needs, as in the case of the Circassians and the Yörüks, for instance. But these displacements were far from the total approach of forced mass-migrations in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.